



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

RUSSIA'S PLANS AND PURPOSES.

BY W. F. MASON M'CARTY.

THE great empire of the Czar, European and Asiatic, little known to the outside world, and concerning which the people of the United States have but the faintest outlines of information, is a land of surpassing interest.

With an area of nearly eight and a half millions of square miles, or one-sixth of the land area of the world, and a population of 125 millions, it is, taken as a whole, less settled than our Western States were forty years ago. It is a country rich in soil, in mineral wealth, in forests, and so vast that no nation in history compares with it in natural resources; while, at the same time, because of the recent multiplication of appliances for developing a wilderness country, no past changes from wilderness conditions to civilization afford a standard for measuring the progress likely to be made in this colossal empire. The development of our own country west of the Alleghanies, during the past fifty years, gives a nearer indication as to Russian possibilities than anything in history. But even this falls short. Science and the arts, steam and the railroad, electricity, chemistry, metallurgy, have all made wonderful advances. As her development of Siberia and Central Asia proceeds, Russia will have such vast hordes of Asiatic labor and skill to draw on, and she has for a foundation so much larger a country than ours, that even our growth does not offer a parallel to the opening up of the new country of the Old World.

There is, too, much in the difference in governments to be taken into consideration. Our laws, and particularly our homestead and land grant laws, our protective tariff operating in a new country to ensure high prices for all the products of labor, with all of our people working, each with his might, to make a fortune, produced wonderful results. The forces that Russia can

bring to bear on her undeveloped territory are entirely different. Man for man, she cannot hope to parallel our results with the populations she must work with. But she has some compensating advantages. She has an unlimited command of very cheap and very efficient labor. Nor will she lack, once her development is under way, help from the countries of Europe who contributed so largely to our population in the days when our heavy foundation work was being done. The Russian government can control, systematize, and concentrate this labor upon truer lines, not letting it scatter out and dilute its strength over too vast an area. Above all, Russia, or the Russian government, is a working machine, very different from any other in the world. There are no elections to disturb it, no congresses or parliaments, no administrations or ministries to be formed and reformed at frequent intervals, or called to account by public opinion or a public press. The government works upon plans not fixed or limited to two or four or seven years, but it works on to do its part day by day, having all the future to draw on.

The real government of Russia is the Council of State. It has no beginning, no end. Czars come and go. But the Council of State remains and works on. A member dies, or is displaced, but his place is filled. The plan is not changed. The policy is worked out just the same. The chart the Council of State works by has for its foundation the will of Peter the Great, modified by the changes of time and circumstances. The Czar is the visible autocrat, the Council of State the real one. The Czar is the head of the State and of the Greek Church, those two powers which are in fact the government of Russia. The Council of State and the Greek Church work by rule. The development of Russia, or of Russian plans, domestic or foreign, is never hurried. It moves fast or slow, according to its power and the advantages or obstructions of the time. But Russian development always progresses. During the past decade Russia has made more progress than ever before in a like period, more, indeed, than any other nation has ever made in a decade.

Ten years ago Russia had a secret treaty with Germany—a sort of half-way treaty not known to Germany's associates in the Dreibund. She had also good relations with France because Russia had blocked Germany's contemplated attack on France in 1875. But the real ruling power was Great Britain. Holding

the Dreibund up to keep Russia and France isolated, with Russia and France keeping Germany, Austria, and Italy anxious in turn, England proceeded with her Egyptian policy, held up Turkey as a cork in the neck of the Black Sea bottle, and went on with her Indian and China trade and her African expansion. To-day, Russia really controls Turkey, has a good understanding with Germany and Austria, has upset Italy in Abyssinia, has made the Dreibund a rope of sand, has France for an offensive and defensive ally, and has England isolated. To-day, ostentatiously demanding peace between Greece and Turkey, she is trying to force England to take the Grecian side in order, first, that she may take possession of Turkey to Egyptianize it after the English manner, though ostensibly coming in as Turkey's protector. And she is manœuvring so that, while she and her Continental associates are demanding peace, England may make war by taking sides with Greece. Russia is ready for war and desires it, because she desires Turkey and Constantinople. But she desires and is trying to so manage that England may bring on the war. The whole Grecian hubbub is a fight for position. England may go in. She is stronger now than she will be later, and her fleets might make havoc with European navies. But on land she could do nothing. The closing of the mints in India has impoverished Great Britain's Asiatic Empire, and famine and plague have been added to poverty. Russia is pushing her advantage while it holds.

We hear in America much about Nihilism in Russia. And the general idea concerning the power and character of Nihilism is erroneous. We had in America, after our civil war, an organization remarkably similar to Nihilism in Russia, and singularly sprung from a like cause, the Ku Klux Klan. The Ku Klux was an organization of men who had lost their slaves, and were fighting the former slave because he had the elective franchise, and under unscrupulous leadership was abusing it.

Nihilism is the Ku Klux of Russia. It sprang from the liberation of the serfs. Nobles who were impoverished by the great change in labor, and by losing control of labor, started the Nihilistic organization and formed its innumerable circles. This force was joined by all the anarchistic forces of Europe, so far as co-operation was possible. Nihilism thought itself strong enough to seize the government of Russia through killing the Czar. It

did manage to kill one Czar. But it never was strong enough to do anything but fight a losing fight against the government. The government always had better men, and abler men, and more of them, to fight Nihilism than Nihilism ever had to fight the government. Nihilism is now, and for many years has been, recruited from the ne'er-do-well sons of Russian families, who cultivate the grievances of a former generation, and from students and young men easily led into excitement and lawbreaking. But the power of the organization is fast dying out as the causes which started it pass into the background. The Russian government was never so strong in the affections of the Russian people as to-day. In case of war not one-half of one per cent. of the population could be mustered against the government.

With the possibility of a general war in Europe, the plans and purposes of Russia are of absorbing interest. Greece would not have gone so far as she has without a purpose of going still further, nor would she have taken a position from which retreat would be difficult, if not impossible, without an understanding with Russia or such knowledge of the situation as would assure her immunity from the intervention of others in the quarrel. Blind as the Grecian movement looks, it has not been blindly made. While all the Powers, apparently in concert, are demanding peace, those who are behind the scenes know that there is no real concert, that the war for which all the great Powers have so long been preparing is close at hand, and that the gathering storm may break almost immediately.

Peter the Great, more than any ruler of his day, indeed, more than any ruler of any day, realized that the world was changing over to a time when the developments of peace would throw out the combinations of war. He was a mechanic as well as a king, because he saw that the day of work, of production, was to supersede the day of robbery and destruction. The bottom idea of all the views he entertained, of all he left to guide Russia, was the development of Russia into a great commercial and industrial nation. That idea has governed all the workings of the Council of State.

The tradition which makes Constantinople the future capital of Russia grew out of the idea of making that city the great commercial city of the world. To recover it from the Moslem has been the sentimental part. To make it the great mart of the

world has been the real objective point of the Russian government since the time of Peter the Great, though this has been kept in the background. But plans were laid out, with this in view, at the close of the Napoleonic wars, and have been steadily adhered to from that day. For a quarter of a century past, efforts have been concentrated to so shaping events that a situation such as exists to-day would grow up. Russia is ready in all ways to carry out her plans, and if the present situation precipitated by Greece results in a general war, as it must if war begins between Greece and Turkey, it will be found that Russia alone is working to a general plan and has forces and means to carry it out.

Contrary to general opinion, the Russian Council of State is the most highly organized, trained, and systematic governmental machine in the world. It is strong in scientific knowledge, and has at command the most expert help in all the arts that science has of late years developed. Russia's financial organization and power, wholly unknown to the outside world, is perhaps stronger even than her military organization. Since the Franco-Prussian war Russia has been preparing to secure her base of commerce—Constantinople. A summary of her great works of recent years will show that they all point to the Capital of the Turk.

The Trans-Siberian Railroad, while ostensibly built, as our first Pacific road was built, to fasten to the Empire her Pacific Coast, has underlying its construction a commercial plan infinitely more important: to open up new country and connect it with the overpopulated countries of Eastern Asia, China, Japan, Corea, from whom can be got both trade and population to develop Siberia, and, further along, to create a new overland traffic between the immense populations of Eastern Asia and Western Europe, that shall replace the present route *via* Suez or the Cape. The trans-Caucasian development had the same purpose in view, with Central Asia and Northern India as the countries to draw from.

Constantinople is the key of the whole plan. No site in the Eastern Hemisphere has such advantages, military and commercial, as the city of the Bosphorus. Held by a power as strong as Russia, the combined fleets and armies of Europe could not take it. The Balkans guard it by land, the straits by water. Commercially it is the gateway of the three continents. It is the western terminal of Russia's great trans-continental line, and to it

come naturally the branch lines from Central Asia *via* the Caspian and Black Seas.

Russia has appreciated fully her advantages. She has known that when the time came for her to open her pack and display her wares she could out-trade England, and bring to her support the countries of Continental Europe, because she had something to give to each. Her plan involves for all the nations of Europe, Africa, or Asia touching upon the Mediterranean a share in the wealth to come from restoring to that inland sea the wealth and glory of trade it had in ancient times, more complex and greater in magnitude in the degree in which international trade has developed and the arts have grown in power and variety of production.

For the great nation of Northern Europe, which lies on her western border—Germany—Russia has something to offer too great and valuable to be refused. What this is can best be appreciated by a home illustration. Our people are familiar with the wealth that has accrued to our New England and Eastern States through the development of the Western States and territories in the past fifty years. Yet the field of development that Russia offers is infinitely larger—large enough to employ the capital, the mines, furnaces and factories of Germany and of France to their fullest extent. The world Russia has to open up affords greater scope than even the Western Hemisphere offered when found. Our Western World was developed from Europe alone. Into the great Russian wilderness will pour the surplus labor, skill, capital, organization of Europe and Asia combined. Even the United States will largely participate in the way of supplying machinery.

Russia is on the threshold of opening up this new world. It is hers. It is fast in her control. No one can take it from her. Once the Russian hand is shown, can Europe, covered with a blight of hard times and low prices, afford to stand in the way of enjoying the benefits of the new field because Russia desires and needs, as a commercial base, a city on the Bosphorus now held by the Turk and wholly useless to Europe? Is Germany, seeking the world for markets, going to pass by the new and great one Russia can offer? Is France, with her front on the Mediterranean and her interests on the African side, going to oppose the revival of wealth and trade in that inland sea? Is Austria, even, going to

oppose it? What has she to gain? What has Italy to gain by opposing it? Nothing. By helping it? Everything.

While Russia has kept up and cultivated good relations with her European neighbors, she has by no means failed to take advantage of what has occurred in the Far East. The Japanese-Chinese war offered her an opportunity to secure advantages for herself and to check the dominant British interests, which she has in no way neglected. Her relations with Japan are good. Corea she looks to as the future site of cotton manufacturing, with advantages superior to any that England has. In China Russia has secured almost everything she needs, and she has an invitation to ask for anything further she may require.

All that is now needed for the accomplishment of Russia's great plans is her commercial base—Constantinople. The trans-Siberian railway will soon be open. The lines toward Northern India can be pushed. Demand can be created for enormous supplies of manufactures from Germany and France. Greece has started the game; Russia coming to Turkey to protect it, can Egyptianize Asia Minor after the English plan in Egypt. She will not have begun the war, but will have taken advantage of it. Behind the Grecian hand may be Russia's, though the Russian voice is for peace. There may be another point in Greece's lead. The country to which Russia has least to offer is Austria. All that has permitted Turkey in Europe to stand has been the question of a division of her territory and a possible reorganization of the Balkan States that have from time to time broken off from Turkey. Russia would be glad to have Greece get her share—old Grecian States—by advance claims. Better for Russia that as much as possible of the territory south of the Balkans should go to Greece rather than to Austria. Nor can Austria alone enforce any other result. Germany will not help her. The Dreibund has long been a rope of sand.

While Russia has done the loudest and most emphatic talking against the move that Greece has made, yet it may be to cover a design that falls so wholly to Russia's hand. Once the war comes new lines can be formed. Greece can hold her own, meantime; and with the war opened the apparent concert of the Powers will end. Russia will find the Grecian war torch as good as another, so it lights Russia's way to Constantinople.

W. F. MASON McCARTY.